

# THE ABOLITIONIST.

VOL. I.]

FEBRUARY, 1833.

[NO. II.

## ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Annual Meeting of this Society was held at Boylston Hall, in Boston, on Wednesday evening, January ninth. A numerous audience was assembled.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Tyler Thacher.

Mr. Buffum, President of the Society, made a few remarks, in which he stated the plans and objects of the Society.

Delegates from auxiliary societies having been requested to present their credentials, Mr. David T. Kimball, of the Andover Theological Seminary, produced a certificate of his being a delegate from the Andover Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society, which was read by the President.

Mr. Garrison, the Corresponding Secretary, then read the Annual Report of the Managers. This paper explained at some length the objects of the Society, and vindicated its principles from the unjust reproaches which have been often heaped upon them. It strenuously supported immediate abolition, by showing the true nature of the measure, and its safety and necessity. After exposing the principles of the Colonization Society, and adverting to some other topics, the Report set forth the measures which the Society had adopted, and the gratifying success which had so far attended its exertions. We have given but a brief outline of this paper, as it will be published in a separate form.

Mr. Robert B. Hall then moved the acceptance of the Report, and supported his motion in a short address, in which he congratulated the Society upon the encouraging prospects before them.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Oliver Johnson, and passed.

Samuel E. Sewall, Esq. then proposed the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That slavery and the traffic in slaves in the District of Columbia, ought to be abolished by the government of the United States; and that every citizen of every State in which slavery is not tolerated, is

bound to use the same exertions to put an end to it in that District, which he would be if it existed in his own State.

Mr. Sewall spoke for a few minutes in support of his resolution. He adverted to the history of the District of Columbia, the cession of its two parts to the United States by Maryland and Virginia, for a seat of government, by means of which it became subject to the exclusive legislation of Congress. He alluded to the wretched system of slave laws which prevailed in the District, showed how negligent Congress had been of the rights of slaves and other persons of color there; and stated that this District had become one of the greatest slave markets in the country—that slaves were brought into it from the neighboring States, chained in droves, then confined in the public or private jails, and finally shipped to the Southern ports. He pointed out some of the cruel injuries to which free people of color were subjected, by being kidnapped and sold for slaves, in consequence of the toleration of the slave trade in the District; and concluded by exhorting the audience to exert themselves to put an end to the atrocious system, tolerated by the American nation at the seat of its government.

The Rev. E. M. P. Wells seconded the motion, and supported it by appropriate remarks. He mentioned the general ignorance which prevailed in this community of the state of things which existed in the District of Columbia. Many people, he said, among us were not aware that slavery and the slave trade were thus directly countenanced and supported by the American government and people. He afterwards spoke of the criminality of slavery, and laid down the following propositions :  
1. Slavery is inconsistent with Christianity.—  
2. It is inconsistent with humanity.—3. It is inconsistent with the principles of a republican government: each of which propositions he sustained by arguments.

David L. Child, Esq. next addressed the meeting, in support of the resolution. He

bore testimony to the truth of the statements of the mover of the resolution. He then pointed out how completely the slave in this country is unprotected by law from injury and oppression. He related some atrocious acts in illustration of his position.

The resolution then passed unanimously.

W. J. Snelling, Esq. then spoke for a few minutes, and related an anecdote which illustrated very strikingly the remark of the last speaker, that slaves in this country were not in any degree protected by the law.

After a collection had been taken for the benefit of the funds of the Society, the meeting adjourned, to meet again on Wednesday evening, Jan. 16th.

JANUARY 16. The Society met, pursuant to the adjournment. The spacious hall was crowded with a highly respectable assemblage, among which were a large number of members of the Legislature, from various parts of the Commonwealth. The meeting was opened with prayer, by the Rev. Tyler Thacher. Extracts of Letters from Rev. Samuel J. May, of Brooklyn, Conn., Gen. Samuel Fessenden, of Portland, Me., Arthur Tappan, Esq. of New York, and Mr. Theodore D. Weld of Hartford, Conn., were then read—as follows :

BROOKLYN, Dec. 17.

My Dear Friend :

Yours of the 4th is before me. I rejoice once more to have, under your own hand, an assurance of your health, success, untiring devotion to the cause you have espoused, and though last not least, your kind regards for myself. Though I have written but little on the subject of slavery, I have talked much about it in the Lyceum, in stage coaches, in social circles—and in my public prayers, in the house of God, his oppressed children are never forgotten. My heart is with you—and I am not afraid any where to avow that my sentiments are in accordance with those of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

If possible, I shall be with you at the Anniversary—and if I come, I shall beg leave to bring forward and advocate this Resolution :

‘The principles of the Anti-Slavery Society do not infringe the rights of any of our fellow citizens, nor endanger the peace and happiness of our country.’

But my engagements here are so numerous and pressing, that I fear I shall not be allowed to lend you the little assistance in my power on that occasion. The cause of liberty is most dear to my heart—liberty of body and of mind. I would have my fellow beings, from the highest to the lowest, fear nothing but to do wrong; and I would have them fear this more than death.

Yours, affectionately,

SAMUEL J. MAY.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Cor. Sec.

PORTLAND, Dec. 14, 1832.

Dear Sir :

Your favor under date of the 30th of Nov. was regularly received, since which I have been casting a-

bout to see if it would be practicable for me to be present at the Annual Meeting of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, and to contribute my mite in a cause which I deem one of the holiest and most important in which mortal man ever engaged.

I lament that my domestic concerns are of such a nature as to preclude me from complying with your request. It is not necessary to enter on their detail; but I assure you they are such as you would deem sufficient to excuse me even in *this cause*. I assure you, however, that I am with you in heart and soul, and to the full extent of all your views. What I can do, shall be done; and I have the pleasure of saying to you that the great cause in which you are engaged is rapidly gaining converts here; and I trust before the Spring opens, that we shall do something that will encourage your heart.

I received through the Post Office the other day, a paper from Mississippi, containing the new Constitution of that State. The object of the person who sent it no doubt was to let me see that document. I find that by the Constitution, the Legislature is prohibited passing any law for the emancipation of the slaves without the consent of the owner!! This must tie up the hands of that people until there shall be an alteration of their Constitution. Thus we see how they intend to perpetuate this curse. In the same paper are thirteen advertisements of colored men arrested and committed to gaol on suspicion of being runaway negroes. These persons are minutely described, and in nine of the thirteen cases it is stated they are deeply marked on various parts of the body, with *scars* the effect of the lash!! This is the humanity with which slaves are treated in the slave States, of which such boast is made by slaveholders.

How long, oh Lord! how long shall thy vengeance sleep? When shall thy soul be avenged on such a nation as this?

Most truly your friend and servant,

SAMUEL FESSENDEN.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Cor. Sec.

NEW-YORK, Dec. 7, 1832.

Dear Sir :

I have your esteemed favor of the 30th ult. requesting, in behalf of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, that I would attend the annual meeting of the Society in Boston, on the 2d Wednesday of January, and deliver an address. If I thought it would promote the cause, I should cheerfully comply with the invitation; but though I *feel* the subject deeply, and *will* express my feelings in a different, and perhaps not less emphatic way than the one you suggest,—I am yet obliged to decline public speaking on the subject.

With esteem, your friend,

ARTHUR TAPPAN.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Cor. Sec.

HARTFORD, Jan. 1, 1833.

Dear Sir :

I have this moment received your letter of the 31st Dec. containing the kind invitation of your Board of Managers, which I am forced by circumstances respectfully to decline.

Though it has been my misfortune never to have come in contact with the published views, arguments, &c. of the Anti-Slavery Society, its *expressive name is dear to my soul*. From that I infer that the Society is based upon that great fundamental law of human right, that *nothing but crime can forfeit liberty*—that no condition of birth, no shade of color, no mere misfortune of circumstances, can annul that birthright charter which God has bequeathed to every being upon whom he has stamped his own image, by making him a *free moral agent*—and that he who robs his fellow man of this, tramples upon right—subverts justice—outrages humanity—unsettles the foundations of

human safety—and sacrilegiously assumes the prerogative of God; and further, that he who retains by force, and refuses to surrender that which was originally obtained by violence or fraud, is joint partner in the original sin, becomes its apologist, and makes it the business of every moment to perpetrate it afresh—however he may lull his conscience by the vain plea of expediency or necessity.

I subscribe myself, yours affectionately,

THEODORE D. WELD.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, *Cor. Sec.*

David L. Child, Esq. then proposed the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the free People of Color and Slaves in this land of Liberty and Law, have less liberty, and are less protected by law, than in any other part of the world.

Mr. Child spoke at some length in support of this resolution. He showed how much more favorable the Civil Law was to slaves than the laws of the Southern States; and stated that in the French, Spanish, and Portuguese Colonies, the slave codes being based on the Civil Law, the slaves were far more protected in their rights than they are in our Slave States or the British West Indies. He then pointed out the improvements which had been made in the slave laws of the British Islands, especially in the Crown Colonies within a few years, which rendered the legal condition of the slaves in the British Colonies far superior to what it is in the Slave States. Mr. Child introduced a great variety of topics into his speech, and enforced his arguments by numerous illustrations, which our limits will not permit us to introduce in this place.

The resolution passed without opposition.

The Rev. Mr. Russell, of Watertown, offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the plan of colonizing the blacks in Africa, as explained by its friends, is preposterous in the extreme, and every attempt to put its principles into operation, is an unrighteous persecution, levelled against the free people of color, to secure and perpetuate slavery in our country; and, therefore, calls upon us to counteract its operations by an open, free, and fearless exposition of its policy and effects.

Mr. Russell spoke for a few minutes in support of his resolution. He demonstrated that the efforts of the Colonization Society could never diminish slavery; that while the Society had removed less than 3000 persons from this country, the slaves here had increased more than 500,000; and showed that the true effect of the Society was to perpetuate slavery, by removing from the country a portion of the free colored people who it was supposed might sympathise with the slaves, and might assist them in recovering freedom.

The resolution was adopted.

Amasa Walker, Esq. proposed the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the objects contemplated by the New-England Anti-Slavery Society are in strict accordance with the plainest dictates of Religion, Philanthropy, and Patriotism.

Mr. Walker then addressed the meeting. He adverted to the unfavorable circumstances under which the Society had commenced its operations. Public sentiment was against it. Yet this, he said, did not prove that its principles or objects were wrong, for public sentiment is sometimes mistaken. He examined the principles of the Society, and showed that they were consistent with religion, philanthropy, and patriotism. He compared these principles with those of the Colonization Society, and demonstrated the criminality of the latter. The one Society wishes to banish the people of color, the other seeks to improve them here; the one declares that slaves are rightful property, the other that they are *men*, and have all the rights of men. He concluded nearly as follows. Every circumstance but one, is in favor of the Colonization Society, and against the Anti-Slavery Society. The former is supported by a formidable array of great names, of judges, governors, and members of Congress, and of course flourishes in wealth under the smiles of public opinion. The latter has nothing to support it, but truth and justice. Yet these are worth all the rest, and must ultimately crown the labors of the Society with glorious success.

The Rev. Moses Thacher offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the principles of expatriation, pursued by the supporters of the American Colonization Society, exert an influence in opposition to the highest interests of the Colored People in this country.

The resolution was adopted, after having been sustained by the mover in a brief but highly animated and cogent speech.\*

The following resolution was submitted by Mr. Garrison without any remarks, in consequence of the lateness of the hour:

*Resolved*, That the exertions made by the free people of color in this country to improve their condition, and to confer the benefits of education upon their children—notwithstanding the obstacles which they have to encounter from the laws and the prejudices of a large part of the community,—are highly meritorious; that these exertions have already produced highly beneficial results, and will, in our opinion, if persevered in, produce others still more desirable.

Adopted.

\* For a very copious account of the Annual Meeting, and the speeches delivered on that occasion, *vide* 'The Liberator,' Vol. III. Nos. 3, 4, and 5.

The following communication from the Massachusetts General Colored Association was presented by Mr. Joshua Easton, and read:

Boston, Jan. 15, 1833.

To the Board of Managers of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

The Massachusetts General Colored Association, cordially approving the objects and principles of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society, would respectfully communicate their desire to become auxiliary thereto. They have accordingly chosen one of their members to attend the Annual Meeting of the Society as their delegate, (Mr Joshua Easton of North Bridgewater,) and solicit his acceptance in that capacity.

THOMAS DALTON, *President.*

WILLIAM G. NELL, *Vice President.*

JAMES G. BARBADOE, *Secretary.*

The proposition was accepted.

The meeting adjourned to Monday evening, Jan. 21st.

MONDAY EVENING, Jan. 21, 1833. The Society met, pursuant to adjournment, at Jefferson Hall, the President, Mr. Buffum, in the chair.

The Secretary being absent, Mr. Oliver Johnson was chosen Secretary pro tem.

The Committee appointed to revise the Constitution made their report, which, after some debate, was adopted.

The Society proceeded to ballot for officers for the ensuing year, and the following gentlemen were elected.

PRESIDENT.

JOHN KENRICK, *Newton.*

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Arnold Buffum, *Boston.*

Rev. E. M. P. Wells, *Boston.*

Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn, *New-Haven, Ct.*

Rev. Samuel J. May, *Brooklyn, Ct.*

Ebenezer Dole, *Hallowell, Me.*

Rev. Moses Thacher, *North Wrentham.*

CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Samuel E. Sewall, *Boston.*

RECORDING SECRETARY.

Oliver Johnson, *Boston.*

TREASURER.

James C. Odiorne, *Boston.*

COUNSELLORS.

Rev. James D. Yates,  
David L. Child,  
Michael H. Simpson,  
Isaac H. Appleton, M.D.  
Rev. Samuel Snowdon,

Benjamin C. Bacon,  
Ellis G. Loring,  
Abner Forbes,  
Frederick Hughes,  
Isaac Knapp.

On motion of Mr. B. C. BACON, it was

*Resolved*, That this Society contemplates the benighted condition of Africa with feelings of christian sympathy; and although it is forced to protest against the measures and principles of the American Colonization Society, yet it approves every laudable effort

to confer upon that quarter of the world the blessings of civilization and Christianity.

On motion of Mr. BUFFUM, it was

*Resolved*, That we contemplate, with the highest satisfaction, the untiring christian zeal and activity of the friends of immediate and universal emancipation in England, and that we will co-operate with them for the promotion of the great cause in which they are engaged, while God shall bless us with the ability to do so, or until every yoke of bondage and oppression shall be broken.

On motion of Mr. GARRISON, it was

*Resolved*, That the formation of a National Anti-Slavery Society is essential to the complete regeneration of public sentiment on the subject of slavery, and to the speedy overthrow of that iniquitous system; and that the Board of Managers be authorised to call a national meeting of the friends of abolition, for the purpose of organizing such a Society, at such time and place as they shall deem expedient.

*Voted*, That the thanks of the Society be presented to the President and Secretaries for their services during the last year.

Adjourned *sine die*.

*Extracts from the Annual Report.*

The New-England Anti-Slavery Society maintains that the slaves ought instantly to be emancipated from their fetters. It acknowledges no claims upon their persons by their masters. It regards the holders of slaves as guilty of a heinous sin. It reprobates the language of those who say, 'we hold their slaves, as we hold their other property, *sacred*.' It says to every individual—'Let the principle be clearly and firmly established in your mind that there is, and can be, no such thing as *property in man*, and you cannot, as a patriot, a philanthropist, or a disciple of Christ, oppose the immediate liberation of the slaves—you cannot but demand that liberation—you cannot be satisfied with any thing short of an immediate liberation.' It is not for men of christian integrity to calculate how far it is expedient to do wrong. The slaves are either justly or unjustly held in bondage. If justly, let the traffic in their bodies be pursued with fresh activity, and all those laws be repealed which now make the foreign slave trade piracy. If unjustly, there is no alternative but to disobey God, or let them immediately go free.

'But would it be safe to comply strictly with the requisitions of justice, *now*?' If they were not made to be obeyed, for what purpose were they made? Is it safe for a band of robbers to cease from their robberies, *at once*? Is it safe for the fraudulent to be honest, *at once*? Is it safe to abandon the practice of trading in the bodies and souls of men, *at once*? Is it safe to obey the Most High, by breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free, *at once*?—Strange questions from the mouths of a christian people!

A very singular kind of logic prevails at the present day. 'I concede,' says one, 'that slavery in the *abstract* is very wicked; but I am opposed to immediate abolition.' Slavery in

the abstract? What does the objector mean? Abstract slavery never did, and never can exist. He means, perhaps—his language implies nothing else—that it is most atrocious to *think* of enslaving human being; but, in fact, to buy, or sell, or hold them in fetters, is by no means sinful! That is to say—if a man should merely meditate the destruction of the houses of his fellow-citizens by fire, without any doubt he ought to be hung;—but if he should actually set them on fire, and run from street to street with the burning brand in his hand, to destroy others, why then he would not be guilty. It would only be necessary for him to cry aloud to the firemen—‘I am as much opposed to arson, in the *abstract*, as you are; but see! the houses are on fire!—My abstract theory has assumed a practical shape, and therefore I am exonerated from blame. I am opposed to an immediate extinguishment of the fire. Put it out very gradually—a few drops of water may now be thrown upon it—some buckets full next week—and at some future time, I cannot tell when, you may give your engines full play!’

The cause of slave insurrections at the south is the loss of liberty. If the *cause* be removed, can the *effect* follow? The slaves fight to obtain their personal freedom. If they were liberated, it is pretended, they would destroy their masters!—in other words, they fight to achieve their liberty, and when it is given to them, they fight because they receive it!—This is singular logic. They are so attached to their drivers, it would seem—so pleased with being bought and sold—so contented with their peck of corn per week—so fond of having their wives polluted, and their children driven away to be sold—so hostile to independence—so undesirous of knowledge—that if they were set free, they would be so angry in being employed as hired laborers, in possessing their own wives and children, in losing their fetters, in being placed beyond the reach of slave speculators, in being protected in their persons and earnings, in having an opportunity to get religious and secular instruction, that they would cut the throats of their former masters, burn their dwellings, and desolate the land!

The Board of Managers are satisfied that the doctrine of immediate abolition is opposed by many, not because they really mean to justify crime, but simply through ignorance or a misapprehension of its nature. It is associated in their minds with something undefinable, yet dreadful—they see, in imagination, cities and villages in flames, and blood flowing in torrents, and hear the roll of drums, the shouts of blood-thirsty savages, and the shrieks of the dying—and thus, bringing upon themselves a strong delusion, they naturally stand aghast at the proposition. All this ruffling of mind is indeed ridiculous; but as it originates unwittingly in error, it merits a charitable allowance rather than satire.

What, then, is meant by IMMEDIATE ABOLITION?

It means, in the first place, that all title of property in the slaves shall instantly cease, because their Creator has never relinquished his claim of ownership, and because none have a right to sell their own bodies or buy those of their own species as cattle. Is there any thing terrific in this arrangement?

It means, secondly, that every husband shall have his own wife, and every wife her own husband, both being united in wedlock according to its proper forms, and placed under the protection of law. Is this unreasonable?

It means, thirdly, that parents shall have the control and government of their own children, and that the children shall belong to their parents. What is there sanguinary in this concession?

It means, fourthly, that all trade in human beings shall be regarded as felony, and entitled to the highest punishment. Can this be productive of evil?

It means, fifthly, that the tremendous power which is now vested in every slaveholder to punish his slaves without trial, and to a savage extent, shall be at once taken away. Is this undesirable?

It means, sixthly, that all those laws which now prohibit the instruction of the slaves, shall instantly be repealed, and others enacted, providing schools and instruction for their intellectual illumination. Would this prove a calamity?

It means, seventhly, that the planters shall employ their slaves as free laborers, and pay them just wages. Would this recompense infuriate them?

It means, eighthly, that the slaves, instead of being forced to labor for the exclusive benefit of others by cruel drivers, and the application of the lash upon their bodies, shall be encouraged to toil for the mutual profit of themselves and their employers, by the infusion of new motives into their hearts, growing out of their recognition and reward as men. Is this diabolical?

It means, finally, that right shall take the supremacy over wrong, principle over brute force, humanity over cruelty, honesty over theft, purity over lust, honor over baseness, love over hatred, and religion over heathenism. Is this wrong?

*This is our meaning of Immediate Abolition.*

Having thus briefly defined the extent of immediate abolition, it may be useful to state some of its probable, nay, certain benefits.

It will remove the cause of bloodshed and insurrection. No patrols at night, no standing army, will be longer needed to keep the slaves in awe. The planters may dismiss their fears, and sleep soundly; for, by one act, they will have transformed their enemies into grateful friends and servants.

It will give protection to millions who are now at the mercy of a few irresponsible masters and drivers: every man and every woman may then find redress at law.

It will annihilate a system of licentiousness, incest, blood and cruelty.

It will open an immense market to our mechanics and manufacturers; for these two millions of free persons will need, and will make every exertion to obtain, hats, bonnets, shoes, clothes, houses, lands, &c. &c. of which they are now to a great extent, and while they remain in bondage must be destitute.

It will afford facilities for educating them in morals, science and literature, *which can never be granted to them as slaves.*

It will permit us to supply every one of them with a Bible, and bring them into the house of God.

It will extinguish the fires of division between the North and the South, and make the bonds of our Union, (which is now held by a hair, if that be not separated at this moment,) stronger than chains of iron.

It will enable us to take the one hundred thousand infants, who are annually born of slave parents, and doomed to a life of ignorance and servitude,—place them in infant schools, and transfer them into primary and sabbath schools; from these into high schools and Bible classes; and, by the assistance of the Holy Spirit, from Bible classes into the christian church. Thus they will become ornaments to society—capable men, good citizens, devoted christians—instead of mere animals.

It will banish the poverty of the South, reclaim her barren soil, and pour new blood into all her veins and arteries. The transformation of two millions of slaves into free laborers, animated in view of a just recompense for their voluntary toil, will renovate the whole frame of society. There is not a slave State but will exhibit the flush of returning health, and feel a stronger pulse, and draw a freer breath. It is, indeed, often urged that the slaves, if freed, would not work. But they, who cherish this belief, disregard the nature of mind. The slaves, in their present condition, have surely no motives for exertion; and men without motives are mere machines, mere animals, to be watched and driven by physical force: the natural consequence is, they are as indolent as possible: knowing that, whether they toil much or little, the fruits of their labor will be enjoyed by their masters, they are improvident and lazy. Then comes the whip upon their bodies *to make them industrious*, every stroke of which puts vengeance into their hearts, to be repaid, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and blow for blow, at the first favorable moment. Compensate them fairly for their labor, and every stone in the earth would be a magnet to attract them. They would have all the hopes, and desires, and feel-

ings of men. And here it is proper to refer to a wild notion which is prevalent in this country. Many persons seem to be wonderfully perplexed and appalled, in view of immediate abolition. They talk as if the slaves, on being liberated, must be driven into the woods, or become drones or vagabonds in society. In the first place, this expulsion is physically impracticable; and, secondly, the planters are unable to dispense with their labor. The liberated slaves would be placed under wholesome regulations, and encouraged to act well; there would, of necessity, be few changes of masters, but every thing would go on as peaceably as in the case of the slaves in St. Domingo, who, for eight years after their liberation, continued to work with untiring industry, maintaining the utmost order, and were only roused to deeds of violence by the attempt of Napoleon to reduce them again to servitude. The labor of the blacks is invaluable—the south cannot flourish without them;—and their expulsion would bring great and everlasting reproach upon the American name.

The immediate abolition of slavery will purify the churches at the south, which are now red with innocent blood, and ‘filled with all unrighteousness.’ It is impossible that religion should prosper, where the pastors and members of churches trade in the souls of men. ‘How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed! The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.’ Now, abolish slavery, and the gospel will have free course, run, and be glorified; salvation will flow in a current broad and deep; and for a short time only can it be reproachfully said that there exist two millions of slaves in a christian land.

In fine, immediate abolition would save the lives of the planters, enhance the value of their lands, promote their temporal and eternal interests, and secure for them the benignant smiles of Heaven. It would destroy the market for slaves, and, consequently, to a certain extent, destroy the foreign slave trade; for when the Africans cannot be sold, they will not be stolen.

\* \* \* \*

In closing their Report, the Managers would earnestly and feelingly conjure abolitionists in this country to maintain their ground, firmly and confidently. The controversy is not, in fact, between them and the oppressors of their fellow men, but between these oppressors and Jehovah. Their cause is based upon the immutable principles of justice and righteousness. It must prevail. Let full reliance be placed upon the promises of Him who has said that he will maintain the cause of the afflicted and the right of the poor; let every thing be done that may and should be done; let the heart be inspired but by one principle—love to God and love to man; let abolition societies be established in every town and village in the

free states; and the speedy emancipation of the slaves is sure.

The blood of the millions who have perished unredressed in this guilty land; the sufferings and lamentations of the millions who yet remain in cruel servitude; the groans and supplications of bleeding Africa; the cries of the suffering victims in the holds of the slave-ships now waited upon the ocean; the threatenings and judgments of the God of all flesh; all demand the utter and immediate annihilation of slavery.

*And let all the people, from the Lakes to the Atlantic, and from Maine to the shores of the Pacific, in one mighty burst, thunder—‘AMEN, AND AMEN!’*

#### CULTIVATION OF SUGAR BY FREE LABOR.

It is often asserted by the apologists of slavery, that the cultivation of the cane is so laborious that no free person will undertake it; and therefore it is urged that we *must* continue to have slaves to make sugar for us, if for no other purpose. We do not perceive this hard necessity. Admitting the fact to be as supposed, we should think the just conclusion would be, not that we ought to continue slavery that we may have sugar, but that we ought to give up sugar that we may abolish slavery. But the supposed fact is not true.—The cane is successfully raised by free labor in various quarters of the world. One of the most interesting accounts of this cultivation which we recollect to have seen, is to be found in an Official Report of Mr. Ward, a British Envoy to Mexico, which we publish below, from the Anti-Slavery Reporter for August, 1829. It was also published in the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* a few years ago.

MEXICO, March 13, 1826.

Sir,—The possibility of introducing a system of free labor into the West India islands having been so much discussed in England, I conceived that it might not be uninteresting to his Majesty's Government to receive some details respecting the result of the experiment in this country, where it certainly has had a fair trial.

I accordingly took advantage of Mr. Morier's prolonged stay here to visit the Valley of Cuernavaca and Cuantla Amilpas, which supplies a great part of the federation with sugar and coffee, although not a single slave is at present employed in their cultivation.

I have the honor to inclose a sketch of the observations which I was enabled to make upon this journey, together with such details as I have thought best calculated to show both the scale upon which these estates are worked, and the complete success with which the

abolition of slavery has, in this instance, been attended.

The valley which extends almost uninterruptedly from Cuernavaca to Cuantla Amilpas, and Jynear, (covering a space of about forty miles,) is situated on the road to Aca-pulco, at the foot of the first range of mountains by which the descent of the Table Land towards the south-west commences, about fifty miles from the capital.

It is about two thousand feet lower than the Table Land of Mexico. The difference of temperature is proportionably great, so that two days are sufficient to transport the traveller into the very midst of Tierra Caliente.

The vicinity to the capital was probably one of the circumstances which induced the first planters to establish themselves in this district. The richness of the soil, and the abundance of water which they found throughout the plain, convinced them that they could not have made a better choice.

It is believed that the sugar-cane was first planted there about one hundred years ago; from that time the number of sugar-estates has gone on increasing, until there is now hardly an acre of ground on the whole plain which is not turned to account.

The cultivation was originally carried on entirely by slaves, who were purchased at Vera Cruz, at from \$300 to \$400 each.

It was found, however, that this system was attended with considerable inconvenience, it being impossible to secure a sufficient supply of slaves during a war. The losses likewise, at all times, were great, as many of the slaves were unable to support the fatigue and changes of temperature, to which they were exposed on the journey from Vera Cruz to Cuernavaca, and perished, either on the road, or soon after their arrival.

Several of the great proprietors were induced by these circumstances to give liberty to a certain number of their slaves annually, and by encouraging marriages between them and the Indians of the country, to propagate a race of free laborers, who might be employed when a supply of slaves was no longer to be obtained.

The plan proved so eminently successful, that on some of the largest estates there was not a single slave in the year 1808.

The policy of the measure became still more apparent on the breaking out of the revolution in 1810.

The planters who had not adopted the system of gradual emancipation before that period, saw themselves abandoned, and were forced, in many instances, to give up working their estates, as their slaves took advantage of the approach of the insurgents to join them en masse; while those who had provided themselves with a mixed caste of free laborers, retained even during the worst times, a sufficient number of men to enable them to

continue to cultivate their lands, although upon a smaller scale.

The insurrection, however, proved highly injurious to the proprietors in general. Most of them were Europeans, and as such, particularly obnoxious to the insurgents; and although by coalescing amongst themselves and maintaining a considerable armed force for their defence, they prevented the enemy on several occasions from entering the valley, they found it impossible to secure their communication with the capital, and were thus often deprived of the only market for their goods. In the year 1814, too, the siege of Cuantla, which Monelos had occupied, and which he defended for three whole months against the vice-regal army under General Calleja, spread destruction throughout the district.

Several of the Haciendas have not yet even recovered the losses which they then sustained, and some, which were quite ruined, have never been rebuilt. In general, however, the last eight years of comparative tranquillity have been sufficient to restore things to their ancient state, and I could not learn that the produce of the different estates about Cuernavaca had ever greatly exceeded that of the last twelve months.

The scale upon which these estates are worked is enormous. From a supposition that the ground is exhausted by two successive crops, the Mexican planters run into the contrary extreme, and divide their sugar-lands into four equal parts, one only of which is taken annually into cultivation. The remaining three are turned to no account, so that an idea may be formed of the extent of an estate upon which so enormous a quantity of land is allowed to remain unemployed.

The largest Haciendas in the neighborhood of Cuernavaca are those of Yemisco and San Gabriel, (both of which belong to the family of Don Gabriel Yermo, an old Spaniard, famous for the arrest of the viceroy Sturrigaray in 1808, with which the Mexican revolution may be said to have commenced,) Treinta Pesos, El Puente, Meacatlan, San Easpar, and San Vicente Chicouquac. Each of these estates produces annually, from 25,000 to 40,000 arrobas of sugar, of 25 lbs. weight each (about 5,250,000 lbs. taking 30,000 arrobas as the average produce,) and to this at least another million may be added, for a number of other smaller estates not included in this list.

The crops are usually most abundant, the cane being planted much thicker than is customary in Jamaica, and the machinery, in the opinion of Dr. Wilson, who accompanied me, and who has been much in the West India islands, is fully equal to any used in the British colonies.

The number of workmen generally employed upon an estate, capable of producing

40,000 arrobas of sugar, amounts to 150, with occasional additions when the season is late, or the work has been retarded by any accidental cause.

The laborers are mostly paid by the piece, and many of them can earn, if industrious, from six to seven rials per diem, (3s.3d. or 3s.9 1-2d. English money, reckoning the dollar at 4s.4d.)

Fifty men are employed in watering the canes, twenty in cutting, ten in bringing the cut canes from the field (each with six mules,) twenty-five (mostly boys) in separating the green tops, which they use for fodder, and binding up the remainder for the muleteers. Twenty men, divided into gangs of four each, in feeding the engine day and night; fourteen attend the boilers; twelve keep up the fires; four turn the cane in the sun, after the juice has been expressed, and dry it for fuel; and ten are constantly at work in the warehouse clarifying the sugar, and removing it afterwards to the general store-room, from whence it is sent to the market.

The art of refining, though well understood, is seldom or never carried beyond the first degree of the process, there being no demand for double-refined sugar in the market; and the consequence is, that though abounding in saccharine matter, the article is for the most part coarse in appearance, and of bad color.

The arroba of 25 lbs. sells in Mexico for about three dollars, or two dollars and a half, if not of the best quality. The great Haciendas expend in wages to the workmen and other current charges, from \$800 to \$1,200 a week.

It often happens, however, that in a good year the sale of the molasses alone is sufficient to defray the expense, so that the sugar remains a clear profit.

For every arroba of sugar an equal quantity of molasses is produced, which sells, at the door of the Hacienda, for five rials and a half the arroba. It is bought up by the proprietors of the small distilleries, which abound to such a degree, that in the neighborhood of Cuernavaca alone from 25,000 to 30,000 barrels of Chingarito (a sort of rum) are made annually.

The distance from Cuernavaca to Cuantla is about twenty-five miles; and with the exception of a ridge of mountains which separates the two valleys, the whole intervening space is richly cultivated.

After passing through the village of Yan-tepec, which lies at the foot of the mountain, there is a constant succession of Haciendas, most of which appear admirably kept up.

The most remarkable in the district of Cuantla are San Carlos, Pantitlan, Cocoyoc, Calcleron, Casasano, Santa Ines, Cohahuistla, Napastlan, and Yenestepango, none of which produce less than 30,000 arrobas of sugar annually, while the annual produce of some

(Cohahuistla and Yenestepango) may be estimated at from 40,000 to 50,000.

The Haciendas of Cocoyoc and Pantitlan enjoy the additional advantage of being not only sugar but coffee-estates.

Their owner, Don Antonio Velasco, introduced, at a great expense, from Cordova, the cultivation of this plant, which has succeeded perfectly. He has now upon his two estates upwards of 500,000 plants, 50,000 of which are already in full vigor. The produce of the last year amounted to 5,000 arrobas, or 125,000 pounds of coffee, and as a great number of the young plants will begin to bear this year, it is supposed that the amount will be more than doubled.

Coffee is now selling at seven dollars the arroba in Mexico. Its cultivation would therefore prove indefinitely more advantageous than that of the cane, if the demand were equally great. But coffee is by no means in general use in this country, nor is Cuantla the only place from whence this demand can be supplied.

There are immense coffee plantations in the vicinity of Cordova, and the whole of the Eastern coast is of course supplied by the nearest market. Were this not the case, the speculation would prove a very lucrative one, as a coffee-estate of 200,000 plants does not require the constant attendance of above twenty men, (to weed and water,) and consequently entails upon the proprietor but little expense.

The average produce of each tree may be estimated at two pounds and a half.

The young plants require great care and attention, and must be protected from the sun for two whole years. For this purpose a large piece of ground is covered in, which is called the semillero. The third year the young trees are transplanted to the open field, where they begin almost immediately to produce something, and the fourth they may be reckoned in full vigor. They last from five and twenty to thirty years.

I saw most of the Haciendas enumerated in the preceding list; but was struck with none so much as with Santa Ines, which is beautifully kept up. It is almost the only estate which possesses a large distillery, which produces from 4,000 to 5,000 barrels of Chingarrito yearly.

The barrel in Mexico is worth twenty-four dollars, with duties and carriage deducted; an idea may be formed by this of the immense annual value of the estate.

Cohahuistlan might be still more productive, as it is much more extensive, and commands a greater supply of water, but it is not done justice to. The estate belongs to the convent of Dominican friars; and as the abbot is changed by the rules of the order every three years, the overseers of the Hacienda are usually changed with him, and they consequently allow every thing to go to ruin.

In general, the fertility of an estate depends entirely upon the supply of water: the produce of those which have only enough for irrigation, and are forced to work their wheels by mules, will seldom be found, whatever may be the quality of the soil, to amount to one third of those which can command a sufficient supply for both purposes.

In the quality of the soil there is but little difference.

The average annual produce of all the estates it would hardly be possible to compute.

The greatest part of it is sent to the capital, from whence it is distributed to the different provinces; muleteers, however, often come direct from the interior.

It is a curious fact, that an immense quantity of sugar is yearly remitted to Vera Cruz, not for exportation, but for the home consumption of a province which might produce sugar enough to supply all Europe, if it chose to turn to account the advantages with which nature has so richly endowed it.

*The most remarkable circumstance, however, is the total abolition of slavery in a district where such a mass of colonial fruits is produced, and the success with which the introduction of free labor has been attended; it is this which has induced me to lay these observations before his Majesty's Government, and to hope that they may be esteemed not wholly unworthy of attention.*

(Signed) H. G. WARD.

Right Hon. G. Canning, &c. &c.

#### IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION. No. II.

'Cayenne and Guadaloupe were the only other French colonies in which the slaves were emancipated. In Cayenne,\* the sudden enfranchisement was attended with no ill consequences; after their emancipation, the negroes in general continued voluntarily upon the plantations of their former masters, and no irregularities whatever were committed by those men who had thus suddenly obtained their freedom.

'In Guadaloupe (where the disproportion of blacks to whites is at least as great as in our colonies) the conduct of the freed negroes was equally satisfactory. The perfect subordination which was established and the industry which prevailed there, are proved by the official Reports of Victor Hughes, the Governor of Guadaloupe, to the French government. In 1793 liberty was proclaimed universally to the slaves in that island, and during their ten years of freedom, their governors bore testimony to their regular industry and uninterrupted submission to the laws. The Reports of the Commissioners to the local government also speak of the tranquillity which reigned in the agricultural districts and

\* Voyage a la Guiane, &c. cap. ii.

on the plantations. In a letter addressed by the Supreme Council of the Colony in Feb. 1802, to the Commissary Valluet of the canton de Deshays, it is said, "Continue, Citizen Commissary, to maintain that order in your canton which now reigns universally throughout the colony. We shall have the satisfaction of having given an example which will prove that all classes of people may live in perfect harmony with each other, under an administration which secures justice to all classes."

'Within the last fifty years, many bodies of West Indian and American slaves have been emancipated without any of that educational and religious instruction now said to be a necessary preliminary to freedom; and settled at Sierra Leone. During the first American war, a number of slaves ran away from their North American masters and joined the British army. When peace came, it was determined to give them their liberty, and to settle them in Nova Scotia upon grants of land as British subjects and as free men. Their number, comprehending men, women and children, was two thousand and upwards. Some of them worked upon little portions of land as their own; others worked as carpenters; others became fishermen; and others worked for hire in various ways. In time, having embraced christianity, they raised places of worship of their own, and had ministers of their own from their own body. They led a harmless life, and gained the character of an industrious and honest people from their white neighbors. A few years afterwards, the land in Nova Scotia being found too poor to answer and the climate too cold for their constitutions, a number of them to the amount of between 1300 and 1400 volunteered to form a new colony which was then first thought of at Sierra Leone, to which place they were accordingly conveyed. Many hundreds of the negroes who had formed the West Indian black regiments were removed in 1819 to Sierra Leone, where they were set at liberty at once, and founded the villages of Waterloo, Hastings and others. Several hundred maroons (runaway slaves and their descendants) being exiled from Jamaica, were removed in 1801 to Sierra Leone, where they were landed with no other property than the clothes which they wore and the muskets which they carried in their hands. A body of revolted slaves were banished from Barbadoes in 1816, and sent also to Sierra Leone. The rest of the population of this colony consists almost entirely of negroes who have been recaptured from slave ships, and brought to Sierra Leone in the lowest state of misery, debility and degradation: naked, diseased, destitute, wholly ignorant of the English language, in this wretched, helpless condition they have been suddenly made free, and put into possession at once of the rights and privileges of British subjects. All these instances of sudden emancipation

have taken place in a colony where the disproportion between black and white is more than a hundred to one; being a far greater disproportion than that in our slave colonies. Yet this mixed population of suddenly emancipated slaves---runaway slaves---criminal slaves---and degraded recaptured negroes, are in their free condition living in order, tranquillity and comfort, and many of them in affluence. This fact is amply proved by the Reports of the Commissioners appointed in 1825, to inquire into the state of the liberated captives; by those of Lieutenant Colonel Denham, General Superintendent of liberated Africans at Sierra Leone, and of Major Ricketts on whom the task of reporting on their state afterwards devolved, and by a great number of other public and private accounts. In a report printed for the house of commons, May 7th, 1827, (No. 312) the Commissioners say, "The general appearance of the Nova Scotia settlers differs but little from that of the free people of color in the West Indies. On Sundays their dress is neat and clean, and their general deportment very respectable. This remark is equally applicable to all the other colored classes which compose the resident population of Freetown, where great external respect is paid to the Sabbath."

'Of the maroons they say, "They happened to arrive at a time when their services were much wanted to repel a hostile attack, on which occasion they appear to have conducted themselves well; and they have since maintained pretty generally the good opinion then formed of them. Several of them have been successful in trade, by which they have acquired a comfortable livelihood: and a few of them who are most extensively engaged in mercantile transactions are supposed to have attained to considerable affluence, at the same time that they have maintained a character of great respectability. The dress and general appearance of the Maroons is very respectable, particularly on Sundays when a peculiar neatness is observable, and their deportment not only in chapel, but as far as opportunities have offered of observing it elsewhere during that day, is very creditable." The slaves banished from Barbadoes were employed in public works for two or three years. "At the expiration of this time," say the commissioners, "they were permitted to employ themselves for their own benefit, and they have in general shown themselves to be industrious and useful." Of the black soldiers of the African corps settled in the colony they say, "Many of them appear industrious. They have generally maintained a respectable character, and have by their exertions (aided by some liberal residents) and under the zealous superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Raban, erected a chapel in the distant part of the town (Freetown) where they reside. That gentleman officiates there two days in the week to

a congregation averaging perhaps one hundred persons, whose appearance and deportment are very creditable.

'Speaking of the inhabitants generally, the Commissioners observe, "The colored men (under this term they include the blacks who form the great bulk of the population, and who in fact are the persons who sit on juries) whom we have had opportunities of observing on juries, appeared attentive and anxious to ascertain the merits of the case, and as far as we could judge from their verdict, seemed to be possessed of sufficient intelligence to insure the ends of justice. They are selected principally from the older settlers (Nova Scotians and Maroons) and in some few instances from the liberated Africans. The individual at present holding the office of coroner at Freetown is a Maroon. The present mayor is one of the early Nova Scotia settlers; the senior alderman one of the early Maroon settlers."

'A Report sent by Lieutenant Colonel Denham, dated May 21, 1827, confirms the favorable account of the Commissioners, and affords incontestible evidence of the willing industry of the negroes and their desire of improving their condition.

"What the liberated Africans have felt the most want of, is instruction, capital and example. With the very little they have had of either, conveyed in a manner likely to benefit them generally, it is to me daily an increasing subject of astonishment that the liberated Africans settled here have done so much for themselves as they have. I have not observed any disinclination for voluntary labor; it appears to be a system perfectly understood and practised by them. Laborers' wages have varied from one shilling to sixpence per day, yet there has never been a deficiency of liberated Africans who were willing to labor for hire. On the naval stores now erecting are nearly two hundred liberated African laborers, who work well and steadily at twenty shillings per month. Laborers in this colony work from six in the morning till five in the afternoon constantly, with the exception of the hour which they are allowed for breakfast. An anxious desire to obtain and enjoy the luxuries of life is apparent in every village from the oldest settler to the liberated African of yesterday. European articles of dress are the first objects of their desire, and for the means of obtaining these both sexes will cheerfully labor; and a gradual improvement has taken place in their dwellings as they became possessed of the necessary means for that purpose."

'Major Ricketts writes on the 27th March, 1829, "The liberated Africans appear happy; at Wellington they are building by subscription among the inhabitants a good sized church and market-house of store; and a number of private store buildings are springing up. The manager at Hastings is endeavoring to erect

new bridges with the workmen and others of the village who labor and furnish materials gratis. Several of the liberated Africans who have obtained lots of land in Freetown, have built good houses. Many of them and of the disbanded soldiers employ themselves in the burning of lime, sawing of boards, cutting shingles and clapboards; all of which are carried for miles from the spot where they are prepared to their villages, and from thence either brought to Freetown by land, or by water in canoes which are kept and hired out for that purpose by the liberated Africans residing in villages on the banks of the river or on the sea coast. In return for these articles they generally receive cash which is not kept dormant; for with that they purchase cattle from the natives trading to the colony, and taking them to the country villages, they are fattened and afterwards sent to the market, and a profit of nearly one hundred per cent. is realised by this species of industry. Pigs and poultry are raised in the villages, and the market of Freetown receives from them an ample supply daily of this kind of stock as well as of eggs and vegetables. Some of the persons supplying the market are known to travel from Waterloo and Hastings, the former being twenty-two and the latter sixteen miles from Freetown, carrying their produce in baskets on their heads; this kind of industry clearly manifests the desire the liberated Africans have to labor voluntarily to enable them by honest means to become possessed of those luxuries which they see their more wealthy brethren enjoying. The police of the villages is administered by the liberated Africans; they have given evident proof of their affection for the laws as they are administered, by the interest they show in implicitly obeying them; and when it has been found requisite to adopt local regulations particularly affecting them, they have cheerfully conformed to them. So very useful are the liberated Africans found in the rafting and cutting of timber, and sawing boards, and scantling, that many of them are receiving from four to five dollars per month with food and clothing. The schools for the admission of children born in the colony are still progressively improving, and the parents evince an anxious desire to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded them of obtaining useful instruction for their children.'

#### NOBLE SENTIMENTS.

'I am for speedy, immediate abolition. I care not what caste, creed or color, slavery may assume. I am for its total, its instant abolition. Whether it be personal or political, mental or corporeal, intellectual or spiritual, I am for its immediate abolition. I enter into no compromise with slavery; I am for justice, in the name of humanity and according to the law of the living God.'—*O'Connell*.

## MEETING OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOR.

Agreeably to public notice, a large and respectable meeting of the free people of color, called by the New-York Society, auxiliary to the Convention of the Free People of Color, for their improvement in these United States, assembled in the Abyssinian Baptist Church, in Anthony Street, on Wednesday Evening, December 26, 1832:

When, on motion, Mr. *Samuel Hardenburgh* was elected Chairman, and *Henry Sipkins* appointed Secretary.

After some preliminary remarks by the Chairman, at his request, the meeting was opened with an appropriate prayer, by the Rev. Jas. Hayborn, (the pastor of the church.)

Mr. *Thomas L. Jennings* stated, that among the leading matters which would occupy the attention of the meeting, were several important documents lately received from Europe, expressive of the sentiments that a very considerable portion of the people of the British Empire entertained respecting the deplorable situation of the colored people in the United States. Having made some excellent remarks on the conviction many of them entertained, that the American Colonization Society was the cause of a most cruel persecution of the free people of color, as well as of its insufficiency, if not its want of inclination, to any considerable extent, to lessen the interminable bondage of the slaves; he read the letter of Mr. *James Cropper*, of England, to Mr. *Thomas Clarkson*, (one of the most strenuous abolitionists of that country) on the impropriety of patronizing the Colonization Society.

Copious extracts were also read from various other foreign documents, and listened to with much attention. Particular interest was excited upon the reading of a part of the speech of the Honorable *Daniel O'Connell*, delivered at the Anniversary meeting of the London Anti-Slavery Society held in Exeter Hall, May 12th, 1832. Some observations on the character of Mr. O'Connell as a philanthropist, were made, and the following resolutions offered and *unanimously adopted*, viz:

*Resolved*, That we highly appreciate the undeviating exertions of the friends of humanity in these United States, and in Great Britain, in the sacred cause of emancipation, and that they are entitled to our greatest respect and most sincere thanks.

*Resolved*, That we recognize in the Honorable *Daniel O'Connell*, of Ireland, the champion of religious liberty, the uncompromising advocate of universal emancipation, the friend of the oppressed Africans and their descendants, and of the unadulterated rights of man.

*Resolved*, That we regret that we are unable to make suitable returns for the disinterested friendship that he has manifested towards the cause of liberty and equality, to the terror of the traffickers in human flesh and blood; and that

we should consider ourselves unworthy the sympathies of the liberals, and traitors to our cause, if we should withhold this public expression of our respectful gratitude.

*Resolved*, That we tender to the Hon. DANIEL O'CONNELL our sincere thanks and respect for his great exertions in the cause of the oppressed,—hoping that when his labors of benevolence shall be finished on earth,—when the oppressor shall cease from his oppression,—he may receive the heavenly reward of Him who holds in his hands the destinies of nations.

*Resolved*, That an address be prepared to accompany the above resolutions, and that the same be forwarded to Mr. O'Connell with all convenient despatch.

*Resolved*, That the above resolutions be published in as many of the papers friendly to the cause of emancipation as practicable, signed by the Chairman and Secretary.

On motion, Messrs. Samuel Hardenburgh, Thomas L. Jennings, and Henry Sipkins, were appointed a committee to prepare the Address, and to attend to the publication of the foregoing resolutions.

In the course of the evening, the proclamation of General Jackson to the free people of color, on the banks of the Mobile, during the last war, was read; several extracts from the reports of the Colonization Society; and the address of the free people of color, held in the Boyer Lodge Room, in the city of New York, January 25th, 1831.

Throughout the meeting a very general dislike to the proceedings of the Colonization Society manifested itself. The audience was admonished, that the support of the convention was among the means of counteracting the policy of that society.

A number became members of the Society by which the meeting was called.

SAMUEL HARDENBURGH, *Chairman*.

HENRY SIPKINS, *Secretary*.

In relation to the above proceedings, the New-York Journal of Commerce says:

'We publish in another column, a series of resolutions adopted by a meeting of free people of color recently held in this city. It is a fact which we are unable to explain on any satisfactory principle, that the free people of color in the Northern States are, as a body, strongly opposed to the objects of the American Colonization Society. Whether it be that they are afraid their influence will be weakened by any deduction from their numbers, or whether they suppose that the Liberians are less prosperous, independent and happy than themselves, we are unable to say.'

The people of color are opposed to the Colonization Society *because it slanders and persecutes them, and perpetuates slavery, and because they love America better than Africa.*

## LIGHT IN THE WEST!

Extracts from a letter addressed to Rev. S. S. JOCELYN, of New-Haven, Connecticut, by BERIAH GREEN, Professor of Sacred Literature in Western Reserve College, dated—

Hudson, (Port. Co. O.) Nov. 5, 1832.

REV. AND DEAR SIR:

A great change has, within a few months, been wrought in the views and movements of some of the gentlemen connected with this College, both as instructors and students, respecting the ground occupied by the American Colonization Society, and the tendency of the principles avowed, and the course pursued, by that institution. In a single word, the President of the College, *Rev. Charles B. Storrs*, a gentleman well known and highly esteemed on many accounts in New-England as well as in Ohio, *Elizur Wright, Jr.* Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, whose reputation as a gentleman, a scholar, and a christian, is elevated, if I mistake not, at Yale College; *Elizur Wright, Esq. of Tallmadge*, a Trustee of this College, and an early graduate of Yale, whose reputation as a scholar and a christian I need not describe, and some others, have, upon examining the matter in discussion between the abolitionists and anti-abolitionists, yielded to the conviction that the former occupy the only ground, which the Bible can justly be regarded as approving and sustaining. These gentlemen have been brought to this conviction, not without many struggles and much reluctance. They had been ardent friends and prompt patrons of the American Colonization Society; had labored to sustain its claims to public patronage by their authority, their eloquence, and their purses. They now feel, and feel very deeply too, that they had been blinded by a strange prejudice, which had the effect of infatuation on their minds. They have opened their eyes upon an object which has taken fast hold of their whole souls. They feel themselves impelled by motives which they cannot and would not resist, to give 'arm and soul' to the cause of African emancipation. They are now making the inquiry with unwonted solicitude—'Lord, what wilt thou have us to do?'

A good deal of interest has been awakened in the College among the students, on the subject of African emancipation. The matter has, in different forms and on various occasions, been pretty thoroughly discussed. A number of the students take the ground maintained by the New-England Anti-Slavery Society. We hope the number may increase. Mr. Storrs has been almost universally—perhaps I need not qualify the expression by any such word as *almost*—regarded as preeminent for soundness of judgment, warmth of piety, force of mind, and general attractiveness of character. The posture which he has taken

on the subject of this letter cannot, we think, fail of setting hundreds a-thinking. Professor Wright has written a good many very able columns for the *Observer & Telegraph*—the religious paper of the Western Reserve; and would have continued to write, had he not been denied the farther use of this medium of working on the public mind. He is an attractive, powerful writer. His whole soul is engaged; and I think no human agency can beat him off the ground which he has taken. We need the sympathy and aid of the friends of this good cause in New-England. We want facts—*facts—FACTS.*

One copy of Mr. Garrison's 'Thoughts' has reached us, and we take a few copies of his admirable paper. Charles Stuart's last pamphlet on Colonial Slavery in the West Indies, we have; and the African Repository, and the Colonization Society Reports and Speeches, which we find may be made directly and powerfully subservient to the cause of African emancipation. Every fact on this subject will be estimated here at its full worth. Will you, as the friend of poor, persecuted, trodden down Africa, help us? We much wish to know the history of the efforts which you have made in the cause of wretched humanity in New-Haven and elsewhere.

Your letter to Mr. Gurley I thank you for, and wish I had 500 or 1,000 copies of it for circulation. Things in Maine and Massachusetts, I should think, were assuming a brighter aspect. Mr. Garrison's reception in Maine could not but have been highly encouraging. Our British brethren, too, the Lord Jesus bless them.

We have here a great struggle to go through with, if the Saviour will help us. The strength of public *prejudice, as such openly avowed!* is awaking. We have, however, a calm and deep conviction that we are right, and that God will help us. This hope we cling to as the anchor of our souls. O, may we not forfeit its high consolations—its sustaining, exhilarating influence! We hope before many days to bring our little forces together in the form of an Anti-Slavery Society. Pray for us, dear brethren, as I hope we do for you—and for all who are consecrated to the great and glorious design, to which, 'after so long a time,' we are beginning to awake.

Yours in the Lord Jesus,

BERIAH GREEN.

[We seize this opportunity to acknowledge the pleasure we have felt, in perusing the masterly essays of Professor Wright, published in the Hudson Observer & Telegraph. As that paper has most unfairly refused to insert any more of his articles on African Colonization, we earnestly entreat him to make 'THE ABOLITIONIST' the medium of his valuable communications to the public: they will have a wide circulation.]

# CONSTITUTION OF THE NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

## PREAMBLE.

Whereas, we believe that Slavery is contrary to the precepts of Christianity, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and ought immediately to be abolished; and whereas, we believe that the citizens of New-England not only have the right to protest against it, but are under the highest obligation to seek its removal by moral influence; and whereas, we believe that the free people of color are unrighteously oppressed, and stand in need of our sympathy and benevolent co-operation; therefore, recognizing the inspired declaration that God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,' and in obedience to our Saviour's golden rule, 'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,' we agree to form ourselves into a Society, and to be governed by the following

## CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called the New-England Anti-Slavery Society.

ART. 2. The objects of the Society shall be, to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States; to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.

ART. 3. Any person by signing the Constitution, and paying to the Treasurer fifteen dollars as a life subscription, or two dollars annually, shall be considered a member of the Society, and entitled to a copy of all its official publications.

ART. 4. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, and ten Counsellors, who shall be elected annually, by ballot, on the fourth Wednesday of January, or subsequently by adjournment, and shall hold their respective offices until others are chosen.

ART. 5. The foregoing officers shall constitute a Board of Managers, to whom shall be entrusted the disposition of the funds, and the management of the concerns of the Society. They shall have power to make their own by-laws, to fill any vacancy which may occur in their Board, and to employ agents to promote the objects of the Society.

ART. 6. There shall be a public meeting of the Society annually, on the third Wednesday of January, at which the Board of Managers shall make a Report of their doings for the past year, and of the income, expenditures, and funds of the Society.

ART. 7. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, or in his absence one of the Vice Presidents, or in their absence a President pro tem.

ART. 8. The Corresponding Secretary shall receive and keep all communications or publications directed to the Society, and transmit those issued by them, and shall correspond with the agents, or any other bodies or individuals, according to the directions of the Society or the Managers.

ART. 9. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, and keep the records of the same.

ART. 10. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions and donations to the Society, hold all its funds, and make payments according to the directions of the Managers; and he shall keep a true account of the same, and render a statement, to accompany the Annual Report of the Society.

ART. 11. Any Anti-Slavery Society, or any association founded on kindred principles, may become auxiliary to this Society, by contributing to its funds, and may communicate with us by letter or delegation.

ART. 12. The Society shall hold meetings on the last Monday of March, June and September, for the transaction of any business which may be presented by the Board of Managers, or for addresses, or for discussion of any subject connected with the objects of the Society. Special meetings of the Society may be called by the Board of Managers, or by the Recording Secretary, on application from ten members of the Society.

ART. 13. This Constitution may be altered at the Annual Meeting for the choice of officers, provided the amendments proposed to be made, have been submitted to the Board of Managers, in writing, one month previous.

## A STATEMENT OF THE FRIGHTFUL DECREASE OF THE SLAVE POPULATION IN THE SUGAR COLONIES OF GREAT BRITAIN.

[Drawn up from Official Returns by T. F. Buxton.]

Colonies.	Decrease in 11 years	1868
Antigua	do 9 do	1,844
Berbice	do 12 do	12,037
Demerara	do 12 do	2,597
Grenada	do 12 do	18,024
Jamaica	do 11 do	131
Montserrat	do 11 do	192
Nevis	do 10 do	1000
St. Christopher's	do 13 do	1,942
St. Lucia	do 10 do	1,243
St. Vincent's	do 10 do	2,803
Tobago	do 10 do	143
Tortola	do 13 do	6,168
Trinidad		

Decrease in the above thirteen Colonies, the average being 11 1-13 years, 43,097

Mauritius Decrease in 10 3-4 years 10,767  
58,864

Deduct. Increase in the two following Colonies, viz:—

Dominica	in 9 years	11
Barbadoes	in 12 years	5,966
		5,977

Total decrease in the Slave population in the Sugar Colonies, on an average of eleven years, 52,887

## LATEST RETURN OF THE SLAVE POPULATION IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

Colonies.	Years.	Men.	Women.	Totals.
Antigua	1828	14,066	15,773	29,839
Barbadoes	1829	37,691	44,211	81,902
Berbice	1828	11,284	10,035	21,319
Demerara	1829	37,141	32,326	69,467
Dominica	1826	7,362	8,030	15,392
Grenada	1829	11,711	12,434	24,145
Jamaica	1829	153,254	164,167	322,421
Montserrat	1828	2,867	3,395	6,262
Nevis	1826	4,574	4,685	9,259
St. Christopher's	1827	9,198	10,112	19,310
St. Lucia	1828	6,280	7,381	13,661
St. Vincent's	1827	11,583	12,006	23,589
Tobago	1830	5,872	6,684	12,556
Trinidad	1828	13,141	10,865	24,006
Tortola	1828	2,510	2,889	5,399
		333,534	344,993	678,527
Mauritius	1826	47,657	29,117	76,774
Totals		381,191	374,110	755,301

[From the Western Luminary.]

Pursuant to the request of the Fayette County Colonization Society, I furnish the statistical tables used by me. In the calculations there may be some very inconsiderable inaccuracy; they were made early last fall, and have not been since revised. If there is any inaccuracy, it is too inconsiderable to make a material difference in the result.

DANIEL MAYES.

**TABLE** shewing the relative increase of Blacks and Whites, from 1820 to 1830.

MARYLAND.	
1820.	1830.
White 260,219	291,093=11 2-3 per cent.
Black 147,128	155,820=6 per cent.
Slaves decreased from 107,398 to 102,876. Free Black increase from 39,730 to 52,942=33 1-3 per cent.	

VIRGINIA.	
White 603,074	694,445=15 per cent.
Black 462,042	516,817=12 3-4 per cent.
Free Black from 36,889 to 47,103=27 2-3 per cent.	

GEORGIA.	
White 189,566	296,614=56 1-2 per cent.
Black 151,419	219,890=45 3-4 per cent.

NORTH CAROLINA.	
White 419,200	472,433=10 1-2
Black 219,629	266,037=21
Free Black, 35 per cent.	

SOUTH CAROLINA.	
White 237,440	257,875=8 1-2
Black 165,299	323,570=22
White increase 20,435. Black increase 53,571.	

ALABAMA.	
White 85,451	180,171=122 1-2
Black 42,446	119,035=140 1-6

MISSISSIPPI.	
White 42,176	70,618=67 1-3
Black 33,272	66,188=99

LOUISIANA.	
White 72,383	89,379=21 3-4—gain 15,996
Black 79,540	126,412=59—gain 46,872

TENNESSEE.	
White 339,295	537,930=58 1-3
Black 82,836	146,898=78 1-3

KENTUCKY.	
White 434,644	518,678=19 1-3
Black 129,451	170,166=39
Increase free Blacks from 2,759 to 4,816=75 per ct.	

MISSOURI.	
White 55,988	114,552=104 1-2
Black 10,569	25,532=132

ARKANSAS.	
Free pop. B. and W. 14,273	30,383=200
Slaves 1,617	4,578=270 2-3

FLORIDA.	
1830. Total, 34,723.—Slaves, 15,510. Nearly half Slaves.	

**II. Table** exhibiting the relative average increase of the different classes from 1820 to 1830, in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama,

Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri.

	1820.	1830.
Free White	2,741,166	3,533,793=28 1-2 per cent.
Black	1,624,069	2,236,365=36 1-2 *
Free Black	117,178	153,719=35 1-2

**III. Table** showing the relative strength of the White and Black population, at the close of each successive ten years, to the end of the present century, supposing the rate of increase to continue in the same ratio as during the last ten.

	1840	W.	4,523,248	B.	3,041,456
	1850	W.	5,789,737	B.	4,136,330
	1860	W.	7,131,863	B.	6,625,476
	1870	W.	9,129,770	B.	9,010,647
	1880	W.	11,696,110	B.	12,434,451
	1890	W.	14,967,420	B.	16,910,833
	1900	W.	18,158,297	B.	22,898,700

Blacks exceed Whites by 4,741,166.

**IV. Table** exhibiting the relative strength of Black and White population in 1790 and 1830, in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia.

	1790.	1830.
White	1,777,357	2,531,138
Black	582,023	1,552,318
	1790	2 1-4 W. to 1 B.
	1830	11-4 W. to 1 B.

**V. Table** showing weight of population per square mile in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, and what it will be in 1900, if increase at the same ratio.

No. sq. ms. 501,333: pop. 1830. 5,770,153=11 1-2 pr. m.  
pop. 1900. 41,056,997=81 9-10  
Black pop. 1900. 22,898,700=45 1-2 pr. m.

Exceeding the present rate of population of any State in the Union but two, and = to that of Kentucky, multiplied by 3 3-4.

**VI. Table** showing the comparative longevity of Whites and Blacks.

According to the Census of 1830, there were upwards of one hundred years old in the U. States—

White males	297	Females	234
Male slaves	717	Female	662
Male free B.	382	Female	359
Male Blacks	1090	Female	1021

Total—White, 531. Total—Black, 2120.

**LIBERAL DONATION.**

JOHN KENRICK, Esq. of Newton, the veteran advocate of universal emancipation, has recently paid over to the New-England Anti-Slavery Society the sum of ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS, as a part of the fund about to be raised by the Society for the establishment of a Manual Labor School for the instruction of Colored Youth. This esteemed friend, a few months since, made a donation to the Society of ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS, to promote its benevolent objects.

\* While this sheet is going through the press, we notice an error in this number, which affects the 3d table, but have neither time nor space to correct it.

[From the Liberator.]

## LETTER

FROM AN INFANT SLAVE TO THE CHILD OF ITS MISTRESS. BOTH BORN ON THE SAME DAY.

Baby! be not surprised to see  
A few short lines coming from me,  
Addressed to you;  
For babies black of three months old  
May write as well, as I 've been told,  
Some white ones do.\*

There are some things I hear and see,  
Which very much do puzzle me,  
Pray don't they you?  
For the same day our lives begun,  
And all things here beneath the sun,  
To both are new.

Baby, sometimes I hear you cry,  
And many run to find out why,  
And cure the pain;  
But when I cry from pains severe,  
There 's no one round who seems to hear,  
I cry in vain.

Except it be when she is nigh,  
Whose gentle love, I know not why,  
Is all for me;  
Her tender care soothes all my pain,  
Brings to my face those smiles again,  
She smiles to see.

With hunger faint, with grief distressed,  
I once my wretchedness expressed,  
With urgent power;  
Some by my eloquence annoyed,  
To still my grief rough blows employed,—  
Oh dreadful hour!

When first thy father saw his child,  
With hope and love and joy he smiled,  
Bright schemes he planned;  
Mine groaned, and said with sullen brow,  
Another slave is added now  
To this free land.

Why am I thought so little worth,  
You prized so highly from your birth?  
Tell, if you know:  
Why are my woes and joys as nought,  
With careful love yours shunned or sought?  
Why is it so?

My own dear mother, it is true,  
Loves me as well as yours does you;  
But when she 's gone,  
None else to me a care extends;  
Oh why have you so many friends,  
I only one?

Why must that one be sent away,  
Compelled for long, long hours to stay  
Apart from me?  
I think as much as I she mourns,  
And is as glad when she returns,  
Her child so see.

One day I saw my mother weep,  
A tear fell on me when asleep,  
And made me wake;  
Not for herself that tear was shed,  
Her own woes she could bear, she said,  
But for my sake.

She could not bear, she said, to think  
That I the cup of wo must drink,  
Which she had drunk;

That from my cradle to my grave,  
I too must live a wretched slave,  
Degraded, sunk.

Her words I scarcely understood,  
They seemed to speak of little good,  
For coming years;  
But joy with all my musings blends,  
And infant thought not far extends  
Its hopes and fears.

I ponder much to comprehend  
What sort of beings, gentle friend,  
We 've got among;  
Some things in my experience,  
Do much confound my budding sense  
Of right and wrong.

Baby, I love you; 't is not right  
To love you less because you 're white;  
Then surely you  
Will never learn to scorn or hate  
Whom the same Maker did create  
Of darker hue.

Beneath thy pale uncolored skin,  
As warm a heart may beat within,  
As beats in me.  
Unjustly I will not forget,  
Souls are not colored white or jet,  
In thee or me.

Your coming of the tyrant race,  
I will not think in you disgrace,  
Since not your choice;  
If you 're as just and kind to me,  
Through all our lives why may not we  
In love rejoice?  
E. T. C.

[From the Genius of Universal Emancipation.]

## THE SUGAR-PLUMS.

No, no, pretty sugar-plums! stay where you are!  
Though my grandmother sent you to me from so far;  
You look very nice, you would taste very sweet,  
And I love you right well, yet not one will I eat.

For the poor slaves have labored, far down in the south,  
To make you so sweet, and so nice for my mouth;  
But I want no slaves toiling for me in the sun,  
Driven on with the whip, till the long day is done.

Perhaps some poor slave-child that hoed up the ground,  
Round the cane in whose rich juice your sweetness was  
found,  
Was flogged till his mother cried sadly to see,  
And I'm sure I want nobody beaten for me.

So grandma, I thank you for being so kind,  
But your present to-day is not much to my mind;  
Tho' I love you so dearly, I choose not to eat  
Ev'n what you have sent me, by slavery made sweet.

Thus said little Fanny, and skipped off to play,  
Leaving all her nice sugar-plums just where they lay;  
As merry as if they had gone in her mouth,  
And she had not cared for the slaves of the south.

MARGARET.

☞ The Treasurer of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society acknowledges the receipt of FIFTEEN DOLLARS from Mr. PRINCE FARMER of Salem, to constitute him a Life Member of the Society. Also, THIRTY FOUR DOLLARS from Mr. EBENEZER DOLE of Hallowell—FIFTY DOLLARS from Mrs. SARAH H. WINSLOW, and FIFTEEN DOLLARS from Mrs. C. WINSLOW, both of Portland.

\* See in the Juvenile Miscellany, a letter from an infant in Charleston, (S. C.) to her cousin in Massachusetts.